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tion exists at this moment; that a full and practicable system has been adopted for its action and maintenance; that judges from the various nations have already been appointed; that its subordinate officers are constantly in session; that suitable quarters are already provided for it; that various subsidiary measures have been adopted to facilitate its work; and that, thanks to an American citizen, this august tribunal will at some day, which we may hope is not very distant, be able to sit in an international palace of justice and temple of peace, built especially for it, worthy of it, suited to its needs, dignified in architecture and surroundings, and standing before the whole world as an outward and visible sign of the most effective means which the world has ever seen for averting war and for maintaining peace—the means which Grotius suggested, and which a long line of the noblest men and women in every century since have longed for and prayed for.

"All peoples under all governments should be made to realize the fact that three different nations have already referred difficult and trying disagreements to this court, and have obtained decisions which have settled the questions at issue and in each case destroyed every germ of ill feeling.

"The various nations should also be made to understand the subsidiary arrangements devised by the Hague Conference for delaying war, for weakening its causes and mitigating its effects.

"The main work of peace congresses and peace conferences should now be to arouse a public opinion throughout the world which will forbid any government to plunge into war without first exhausting the means which this tribunal at The Hague affords for securing peace. There are, indeed, questions supplementary to the principal issue involved which may well be discussed and urged, such as better definitions of 'contraband of war' and the like, and especially a doctrine which our country has urged from the beginning of our national existence down to and during the sessions of the Hague Conference, namely, the duty of exempting private property not contraband of war from seizure on the high seas.

"But the first great thing is that governments shall not be allowed by the peoples for whom they act to neglect these new means of peace. It is as possible to create a public opinion which shall absolutely force every government in the world to resort to this tribunal before declaring war as it was possible to create the public opinion throughout the world which ended Algerine piracy, the slave trade, the serf system, and slavery.

"I would urge then, as you welcome the European delegates, and especially Baroness von Suttner, whose noble writings have done so much to arouse a feeling for peace, and whose presence and conversation at The Hague gave so much courage and hope to supporters of arbitration at the Peace Conference, that this main point be not forgotten; in fact, that all efforts be concentrated upon it, and that there shall go forth from this and other meetings of this sort utterances which shall make mankind at large more fully and thoroughly understand what has already been done in the creation of the Hague Tribunal and oblige every government to resort to it, at once, in case of need.

"It is not too much to hope that the frightful example now visible of two great nations each deluging the soil

of Asia with its best blood, and both nearing inevitable bankruptcy, will aid your meeting and similar assemblies elsewhere in bringing to the whole world a knowledge of the Hague Tribunal with all its realities and possibilities."

Letter to the Peace Congress from Sir John Macdonell of London.

31 KENSINGTON PARK GARDENS, W.
SEPTEMBER 21, 1904.

My dear Mr. Perris: It has for some time been plain to me that I could not, for many reasons, be present at the Congress at Boston. This is very much to my regret. I greatly desired to meet and talk with the workers in the cause of peace in a country where that cause flourishes much more, I believe, than it does with us at present, and which is beset by fewer of the temptations to militarism than the Old World.

No doubt the Congress, where all shades of opinion will be represented, will look at the question from many sides; and I am hopeful that among other matters under consideration one or two points which I have much at heart will not be forgotten. Two of them are, I conceive, of no small practical importance. One of them is the urgent necessity of developing, I might even say creating, a form of literature specially designed to meet the wants of the hour. A literature which may help to counteract in some degree the ceaseless appeals through the eye and ear, by print and picture, to the worst passions; a literature truly pacific in spirit, not sentimental in character, not full of vague generalities, but containing precise details and authentic tests, and presenting in plain language the realities of war; revealing what is behind the soldiers' triumphs, making audible what the blare of trumpets and the shouts of infatuated mobs now drown.

Art and literature, one is of late tempted to think, have deserted the cause of peace and are in a conspiracy against it. Can they be brought back to the side of common sense and humanity? I am not underrating the services rendered by the excellent existing periodicals, or the value of such publications as those issued by the *Bibliothèque Pacifiste Internationale*; but each country needs its own special form of peace literature, and I should be glad to see everywhere organizations for the purpose of disseminating, by books and pamphlets, facts which are now glossed over and kept in the background; a literature with the motto, *écrasons l'infâme*—the true *infâme* of all time. A carefully prepared volume of extracts from writers of authority descriptive of war as it is—war put to the test of common sense—showing men lowered to the level of wild beasts, every evil passion let loose, and the result, almost always manifestly futile and disappointing, would be useful. I should also like to see a wide circulation of accurate pictorial representations of war as it is, and not in its false, glorified, idealized forms. Copies of some of Verestschagin's vivid pictures of its grim realities would be more convincing than labored arguments or exhortations. In the formation of such an organization I would gladly help.

Another practical point is one of which I have, more than once, talked with you; the need of making the question of peace one much more of practical politics

than it is in England at all events. Can we not have organizations which will secure prominence to this question at every political election in every country; organizations which will endeavor to elicit from every candidate precise pledges as to this matter? If temperance be made a test question, why not peace, transcending in importance in this age, perhaps in most ages, I am inclined to think, all others?

In stating my last point I am running the risk of being misunderstood, but not, I think, in the city of Channing and Emerson, of so many other great moral teachers. Those who plead for peace should take note of the fact that mankind, especially youth, longs for the heroic. It is captivated by the spectacle of self-denial, endurance of privations, and readiness to sacrifice life itself. Men are not very curious to inquire into the merits of the course in which these virtues are enlisted. Young minds are fascinated and seduced by this aspect of war, to a forgetfulness of its horrors, brutality and attendant wickedness. It would be well if the advocates of peace would dwell oftener than they do upon the fact that the heroic, all that is truly noble in the conduct of the best soldiers, can be realized in peaceful life. In fighting with disease the physician and the nurse exhibit it. So does the rescue party which goes down a mine after an explosion. So does the crew of a lifeboat. All that is admitted. What is rarely inculcated is that the ordinary duties of all vocations, strenuously practised, quite apart from the emergencies of life, may and do call for the exercise and display of true heroism; greater because it is the outcome of calm personal resolve, and is not obedience, under circumstances of excitement, to a collective command.

I should be glad if in the peace literature were heard oftener than I can now detect, the heroic note—the incentive to live laborious days to endure hardships, and to risk health and life itself in the performance of its ordinary civic duties. We cannot afford to allow it to be assumed that war alone calls forth the heroic virtues.

Excuse these few reflections, which I close with renewed expressions of my great regret at my absence from a Congress which may prove a momentous event in a struggle to cast off the heaviest weight resting on our civilization.

Yours very sincerely,
JOHN MACDONELL.

A School of Peace.

BY EDWIN GINN.

*Address delivered at the Thirteenth Universal Peace Congress,
October 7, 1904.*

From year to year the peoples of the civilized nations meet in convention to discuss the problems of peace and war. Our peace congresses are exerting a deep influence. Yet the misfortunes of war are pressing upon us more heavily year by year. It would be difficult for any one to picture war in all its phases in stronger language than that used by Sumner in his "True Grandeur of Nations," or by Channing in his "Discourses on War," or by Bloch in his economic treatment of the subject. It is not a lack of the knowledge of the horrors of war and the blessings of peace that retards our movement; it is the failure of the people to grapple with the subject in a businesslike way.

The resources of the nation are being developed to a remarkable degree; but a large part of this gain is lost in the expense of equipment for military purposes. Nationally we are all making good progress—financially, economically, intellectually, morally; just laws are established and obedience to them is secured through the courts. But internationally, in important respects, we are still barbarians. The nations still rely upon the sword and the cannon for the protection or assertion of their rights. Occasionally they are willing to submit their differences to arbitration; but not a single great nation is lessening in the slightest degree the physical force upon which it relies for its defense. The Hague Tribunal is a great step forward; but the peoples of the world in the main are slow to submit their differences to this Court, and until the individuals who make up the nations are ready for such action, the heads of governments will continue powerless.

There now exists among the civilized nations the most complete military organization the world has ever known, a force almost beyond our ability to comprehend. Five millions of the ablest bodied men in the world are withdrawn largely from productive service, and their future, as regards salary and promotion, depends upon the present military régime. In addition to this maintenance of vast armies and navies, there is the enormous expense of establishing and equipping fortifications. All this imposes a frightful burden upon the community. To support this force and carry this burden the industrial world is hard at work, on the farm, in the shop, on the sea, in the counting-house, in all the vocations for the real uplifting of humanity; and after paying the enormous taxes imposed upon them because of these great armaments there is left to many a pitiful margin for the absolute necessities of life. Mr. Atkinson has computed from government sources that in this country each family of five people pays for the expense of warfare \$25 a year,—a terrible burden when we consider that not one family in ten is able to put by, year by year, more than this amount.

To oppose all this, what are we doing? We have a few societies of well disposed men, a few journals of limited circulation, a few noble men and women who are devoting their lives, so far as possible, to opening the eyes of their fellows to the evils of the present system. But the entire amount of money spent each year for these objects in our country does not equal a respectable fraction of the expenditure upon one of our battleships.

Any change in the existing order of things must be effected by education. In many countries the whole order of society needs to be changed. In Germany and in many other countries those connected with the army and navy stand socially at the very head, a place of honor to which the youth look forward with reverence and ambition. From the cradle they are taught that the highest aim in life is to prepare themselves for the army. In many schools in our own country the boys are drilled like soldiers, and parade through the streets to the strains of martial music before admiring throngs.

We need a body of educators whose sole duty should be to go among teachers, awakening and developing an intelligent and adequate interest in this great subject. This work of education should commence with the school children; it is with them that our greatest hope lies. We should